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Nationalism versus Patriotism, or the Floating Border? National Identification and Ethnic Exclusion in Post-communist Bulgaria

Rossalina Latcheva[1]

Abstract
The paper deals with different aspects of national identification and their relations to ethnic exclusion in post-communist Bulgaria. The emphasis is placed on theoretical approaches that refer to nationalism as a social (collective) identity and its effects on specific exclusionary practices and individual attitudes. This specific theoretical framework is also used as a source for drawing a conceptual model that is subsequently tested on empirical data for Bulgaria for two time points: 1995 and 2003. The data for the analysis is gathered within the framework of the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) "National Identity". In order to analyse changes over time a simultaneous multiple group comparison between both samples is conducted by applying Structural Equation Modelling. The empirical examination shows that the concepts of patriotism and nationalism as individual attitudes toward the nation could be plausibly differentiated for Bulgaria, yet not with regard to their relationship with chauvinism. Both nationalistic and patriotic sentiments are positively related to chauvinistic attitudes, a result, which seems to contradict the general theoretical assumptions. The question whether one can distinguish between 'patriotism' as the less extreme and 'nationalism' as the 'blind' and uncritical form of individuals' attachment to the nation is addressed

Keywords
Bulgaria, nationalism, patriotism, chauvinism, ethnic exclusion, social distance, minority rights, structural equation modelling, ISSP

Introduction

Bulgaria's path to modernity has been inevitably accompanied by a struggle to extricate itself from the Ottoman past and develop a national identity between the real and

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imagined boundaries of Orient and Occident, East and West, 'backwardness' and 'progress'. Since the late nineteenth century, the national self-discovery and collective imaginings have reflected the 'fear of hybridity' (Neuburger 2004). The notion of hybridity stems from the perceived in-between status of the two major minority groups in Bulgaria: the Muslim (Turks , Pomaks) and the Roma. The Bulgarian Communist Regime continually underlined the essential 'Bulgarianness' of the Turkish and Pomak minorities: Through gendered dress practices, renaming campaigns and nationalistic propaganda it tried to erase the visible and audible indications of hybridity. While Pomaks were seen and treated as essentially Bulgarian, the link between Bulgarians and Turks has covered the scope from adaptation to total assimilation and forced removal (Neuburger 2004). On the one hand, the emphasis on minorities' essential sameness repeatedly led to efforts of minorities' complete assimilation (name changing, dress laws, interference in everyday culture), the emphasis on minorities' difference (or foreignness) on the other hand to exodus.

Politics of ethnic nationalism have been successfully brought into practice not only in Bulgaria's pre- and communist epochs. Post-communist elites also try to manipulate popular prejudice against minorities and exploit feelings of threat in order to stabilize power. At the general elections for Members of Parliament, held in 2005 and 2009, the nationalist coalition Attack (Ataka) ranked fourth with more than 8 respectively 9 per cent. This extreme nationalist movement appeared as a political party just a few months before the elections in 2005. On the other side, the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF), an ethnic Turkish-based party, ranked third with about 14 per cent in 2005 and in 2009. MRF has been represented in the Bulgarian Parliament since the first free elections in 1990 and was in a coalition government more than once.

A common element of the pre-, communist, and post-communist decades is that the efforts to cope with Turkish, Pomak, and Roma identities never followed a straight line. Although Bulgaria managed to maintain peaceful ethnic relations during the transition phase and many initiatives aiming at integration of minorities have been started , national minorities are often seen as political and societal outsiders whose identities do not fit the criteria along which membership in the majority group is defined.

This article contributes to the ongoing debate in the social sciences on different aspects of national identification and their relation to processes of ethnic exclusion. Based on two representative cross-sectional surveys from 1995 and 2003, carried out within the framework of the International Social Survey Program, it seeks to shed light on the affective (ethnic) and formal (civic) criteria along which Bulgarians view and treat minorities as native vs. foreign, as we vs. other. Using structural equation modelling, the interrelations between several attitudinal latent constructs such as patriotic and nationalistic pride, chauvinism and aspects of ethnic exclusion are tested. Furthermore, by focusing on Bulgaria, it will be weighed up if the hypothesized relationships that have been deduced from the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and the Theories of Ethnocentrism and Nationalism outrange their West-European heredity and hold true for a post-communist society in transition. The term 'transition' presupposes changes over time: through multiple group comparisons for two points in time the longitudinal perspective

in the analyses of national identification and ethnic exclusion is considered. The results challenge the widespread conceptual dichotomization of nation in civic and ethnic, of national identification in nationalism and patriotism and highlight the importance of precise operationalizations. The findings show that it is essential to discuss whether patriotism and nationalism depict theoretically separable concepts of an individual's attachment to a nation or whether it is just the naming and the way we talk about these phenomena that make the difference (Bauman 2000: 174-5).

Theoretical framework: Approaches to national identification, 'othering' and boundary work

Since this article aims at analyzing the effects of national identification processes on exclusionary practices in post-communist Bulgaria, the focus in this section is on theoretical approaches that discuss *national identity* primarily as a process of *in-group-out-group* relations. Nevertheless, there is a large body of theoretical and empirical contributions that study nations and nationalism and this shows that this field of research has remained important for the social sciences for decades.[2]

Following Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 4), the difficulties in theorizing and analyzing *nation* and *nationalism* emerge when scholars start to adopt *categories of practice* **as** *categories of analysis*. The *categories of practice* stand for categories of everyday social experience (the so-called 'lay' categories) while the *categories of analysis* represent experience-distant ('analytical') categories that are used by social scientists. According to Brubaker, if we have to come up with persuasive answers to the complexity of phenomena such as nationalism we have to resist personifying the category of 'nation' as a unified collective actor and try to decouple the study of nation and nationalism in a study of *nationhood* and *nationness* (Brubaker 2004, Brubaker and Cooper 2000). This approach brings us to novel ways of conceptualizing *nation* and also *ethnicity*[3], namely to the cognitive perspectives that treat *ethnicity*, *race* and *nationalism* as ways of understanding and interpreting experience in ethnic, racial or national terms. The question would no longer be 'what is a nation' but *when*, *why* and *how* people construe social experience in ethnic or national terms, i.e. the cognitive perspectives inform about how ethnicity 'works'; from things **in** the world to perspectives **on** the world (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov 2004). Following this argument, an aspect of central importance would be how processes of national identification, i.e. *nationness*, are related to processes of *ethnic exclusion*. A deficiency of many debates about *nationalism* and *national identity* is their limited elaboration of the *in-group-out-group* relations on the individual level. The cognitive perspectives seek to connect the macro- and micro-level of analysis by referring to the cognitive construction of nation as to a social construction:

[2] Delanty (2001) and Llobera (1999) give elaborate overviews of recent theories and theoretical approaches to nationalism.

[3] *Ethnicity* goes beyond the modern ties of a person to a particular nation (e.g. citizenship), and focuses on cultural characteristics (shared language, shared past, religious faith) that connect a particular group of people to each other. It is also used to justify real or imagined historic ties.

'[…] the schemes of perception and interpretation through which the social world is experienced in racial, ethnic, or national terms – is social in a double sense: it is socially shared knowledge of social objects' (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov 2004: 44).

Since the new nationalism is xenophobic (Alter 1985), i.e. it concentrates rather on immigrants and minorities within the state than on other states, it could be discussed as latent mechanism of boundary maintenance on the individual level. According to Barth (1969), social actors deploy cultural constructs in order to set up and maintain group symbolic boundaries. The main dimension is the s*elf-other*-dichotomy by which exclusive ethnic groups ascribe different identities to members of their own group and to members of other groups. Barth shifts the attention from observable traits to 'imagined' boundaries: boundaries that could not be read from maps but from individuals' categorization practices as their way of seeing and interpreting the world. Yet, 'imagined boundaries' are often anchored in observable traits.

Within the framework of *Social Identity Theory* (SIT), the processes of self-categorization, social comparison, and identification are of central importance. The individuals' perceived belonging to a *social category* or *group*, i.e. their knowledge of group membership constitutes and forms their social identity. The self-identification and social-categorization processes result in perceived similarities between the self and the in-group members and in exaggerating differences between the self and the members of the out-group (in-group bias). Important in the formation of social identity is the process of social comparison through which the human being's basic need for positive self-esteem is achieved. Accordingly, social identity significantly constitutes the individual's self-concept whereas it also produces in-group bias through the process of social categorization. The stronger the person's feeling of belonging to a social group (or social category), the stronger his or her identification with his or her in-group. However, *intergroup comparisons*, as proposed by SIT, are not the only way by which positive self-esteem or a positive social identity can be achieved (Mummendey, Klink and Brown 2001, 1997)[4]. The particular type of comparison moderates the relationship between in-group evaluation and out-group derogation, i.e. the predicted correlation between group identification and in-group bias *'[…] should be most noticeable under conditions which promote a relational orientation or among group members that habitually favour such an orientation'* (Mummendey, Klink and Brown 2001: 161). Following these arguments, social identity includes cognitive, evaluative and emotional elements. In addition, the formation of a positive social identity is based on social- or temporal comparison between in- and out-groups: these comparisons may be established either upon favouring the in-group or upon devaluation of the out-group, but both forms imply a superiority of the own group upon the other and thus they may be seen as causes for horizontal differentiation.

[4] Mumenday et al. identify three types of comparisons: a) relational or intergroup (compared to other countries or groups), b) temporal (compared to how the own group had performed in the past) and c) to some absolute standard (compared to some 'ideal' group or society).

Nationalism versus patriotism: separate sub-dimensions of a general attachment to the nation?

Two issues are worth further examination: 1) the dichotomization of *patriotic* and *nationalistic* sentiments as corresponding to discrete concepts of individual attachment to the nation and 2) how the Social Identity-approach can be related to approaches focusing on *national identification*.

Many scholars have dealt with the problem of a valid theoretical and empirical distinction between *nationalism* and *patriotism* and with its consequences for research. In their study on *The Authoritarian Personality* Adorno et al. distinguished between *genuine patriotism* which stands for 'love of country' and *pseudo-patriotism* which measures '*[…] blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and the rejection of other nations as out-groups*' (Adorno et al. 1950: 107). Consequently, the so-called *Ethnocentrism-scale* subsumes three forms of national attachment: *nationalism*, *chauvinism,* and *patriotism*.

As elaborated previously, *social identity* is defined as '*[…] that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his/her knowledge of his/her membership of a social group (social groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to this*' (Tajfel 1978: 63). According to this definition, individual patriotic and/or nationalistic sentiments may well be seen as specific manifestations of a positive social (*collective*) identity[5], i.e. as specific individual modes of positive national support. The idea of 'collective goods' is important for understanding the relationship between the individual and the nation since it links agency and structure (Blank and Schmidt 1997). Organizations, societies, and groups are producing collective goods such as norms, values and habits, state history and constitution, which could serve as a basis for identification either with the nation or with an ethnic group. According to Blank and Schmidt (2003, Blank, Schmidt and Westle 2001), individuals' *nationalism* and *patriotism* (seen as national identifications) can be thought of as consequences of the more general concept of *national identity* so that both concepts represent specific positive evaluations of one's own national or ethnic group but imply different social or individual goals. Following this argument, national identity may be seen as a form of a collective identity or collective consciousness, actually as a collective good and thus, if we follow Brubacker and Cooper (2004), a category of practice.

A critique that arises from this debate is concerned with the question whether it is possible to have a positive patriotic feeling that can be clearly distinguished from nationalism. Within the post-national dispute of political culture, we may refer to Habermas' normative concept of *constitutional patriotism* or Staub's *constructive patriotism* as to identification with the principles of the constitution and the liberal state. In this sense *patriotism* is based more on universal humanistic values than on identification with history or culture (Bar-Tal and Staub 1997, Habermas 1992, Kosterman

[5] We may distinguish between social and collective identity in Brubaker's sense – social identity may be seen as a category of analysis and collective identity as a category of practice.

and Feshbach 1989). Democracy, republican values, and human rights are also inherent to the concept of *constructive patriotism*. Habermas' concept of *constitutional* or *democratic patriotism* is based mainly on shared values and on a rational set of norms which, he believes, can exclude *nationalism* from the political arena throughout Western Europe.[6]

Cohrs (2004, 2005) argues that *patriotism* as such is neither good nor bad. Rather its consequences depend on the values and the norms by which *national identity* is subjectively defined. According to Bauman, *'[...] it is the nature of sentiments and passions and their behavioural and political consequences that count and affect the quality of human cohabitation, not the words we use to narrate them'* (2000: 175). Bauman looks at *patriotism* as the sentiment that is more likely to facilitate integration policies toward minorities and migrants, while *nationalism* has been associated with isolation, deportation or ethnic cleansing (ibid). Although the distinction between *patriotism* and *nationalism* remains for Bauman mainly rhetorical, this difference tends to reach beyond mere rhetoric into the realm of political practice and individual's behaviour.

Several studies revealed empirical evidence that different manifestations of national identification have varying effects on discriminatory behavior towards out-groups. *Nationalism* and *patriotism* are referred to as individual attitudes that differ in type and strength of affection for the nation and in their relation to *ethnic exclusion*. *Nationalism* is characterized by blind support for the nation and feeling of national superiority whereas *constructive patriotism* as a counter-concept to *nationalism* (Blank and Schmidt 2003) is based on republican values and includes critical loyalty towards the in-group (nation). Further, nationalistic sentiments correlate positively with chauvinistic views and with derogation of out-groups. *Constructive patriotism* on the contrary does not correlate or correlates negatively with ethnic exclusion.

To summarize, the differentiation between *nationalism* and *patriotism* as assumed in several theoretical approaches still needs more substantive and empirical examination e.g. in different contexts and at different time points.[7] Next, the discussed conceptual distinction between *nationalistic* and *patriotic* sentiments (as two specific forms of individual's positive evaluation of the nation) and their differential relation to *ethnic exclusion* is analysed for post-communist Bulgaria at two points in time. In the following a short description of the data precedes the presentation of the conceptual model that has been deduced on the basis of the literature discussed above. Subsequently, the applied measurements are going to be described and a summary of the hypotheses that are tested is provided. A critical discussion of the results concludes this article.

[6] For critical discussion of Habermas' concept of *constitutional patriotism* see (Breda 2004) and (Calhoun 2002).

[7] Regarding nationalistic versus patriotic sentiments in East-Central Europe see e.g. Weiss and Reinprecht (1998).

Data

The data for the following analysis is adapted from the 1995 and 2003 modules of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) for Bulgaria.[8] Both modules focus on national identity and ethnic exclusion and most of the items were replicated in both years. The representative surveys were carried out among nation-wide samples of adults and correspond to two cross-sectional data sets for Bulgaria.[9] Among others, the questionnaire includes a set of questions designed to measure national attachment and attitudes towards immigrants and minority groups. Since the discussion deals with attitudes towards minorities, the analysis is restricted to the ethnic group of the Bulgarians, which are the majority in the country. The total sample size for 1995 is 1,005, the actual sample size for the group of ethnic Bulgarians amounts to 927 (83.9 per cent of the total); for 2003 the total sample size is 1,069, the sample size for the group of ethnic Bulgarians is respectively 921 (86.2 per cent of the total).

Hypothesized Model and Issues of Operationalization

In line with *The Social Identity Theory* and the *Theories of Ethnocentrism* and *Boundary Work,* the analysis concentrates on the question whether and to what extent a differentiation between patriotic and nationalistic sentiments could be made for Bulgaria. Similar to Mummendey et al. (2001) and Cohrs (2005), a notion that underlies the following analysis is that individuals may have a strong national identification without featuring hostile attitudes towards relevant out-groups. Consequently, in order to expose **when** and **how** positive evaluations of the in-group result in devaluation of the out-group, it is necessary to disentangle the meaning of the operationalizations that were used to measure concepts *nationalism*, *patriotism, chauvinism,* and *ethnic exclusion* in the ISSP survey. Another methodological objective of the following analysis is to test for measurement and structural invariance over time by means of structural equation modelling.

Figure 1 exemplifies the conceptual model with all hypothesized relations between the latent constructs. The latent variables on the left side of the model (light grey) represent the exogenous (independent) variables which indicate positive in-group evaluation (e.g. nationalistic and patriotic pride, chauvinistic attitudes); the latent constructs on the right side of the model (dark grey) refer to the endogenous (dependent) variables that point to out-group derogation and ethnic exclusion. Following SIT, the general hypothesis according to which positive evaluation of the in-group is correlated with negative attitudes towards relevant out-groups (intolerance towards ethnic minority groups) is going to be tested.

[8] For detailed information about the ISSP see www.issp.org or www.gesis.org/ZA/index.htm.

[9] I would like to thank and acknowledge Dr. Lilia Dimova, the chief executive of the Agency for Social Analyses (ASA) in Sofia for her expertise and for providing the Bulgarian ISSP data 1995 and 2003.

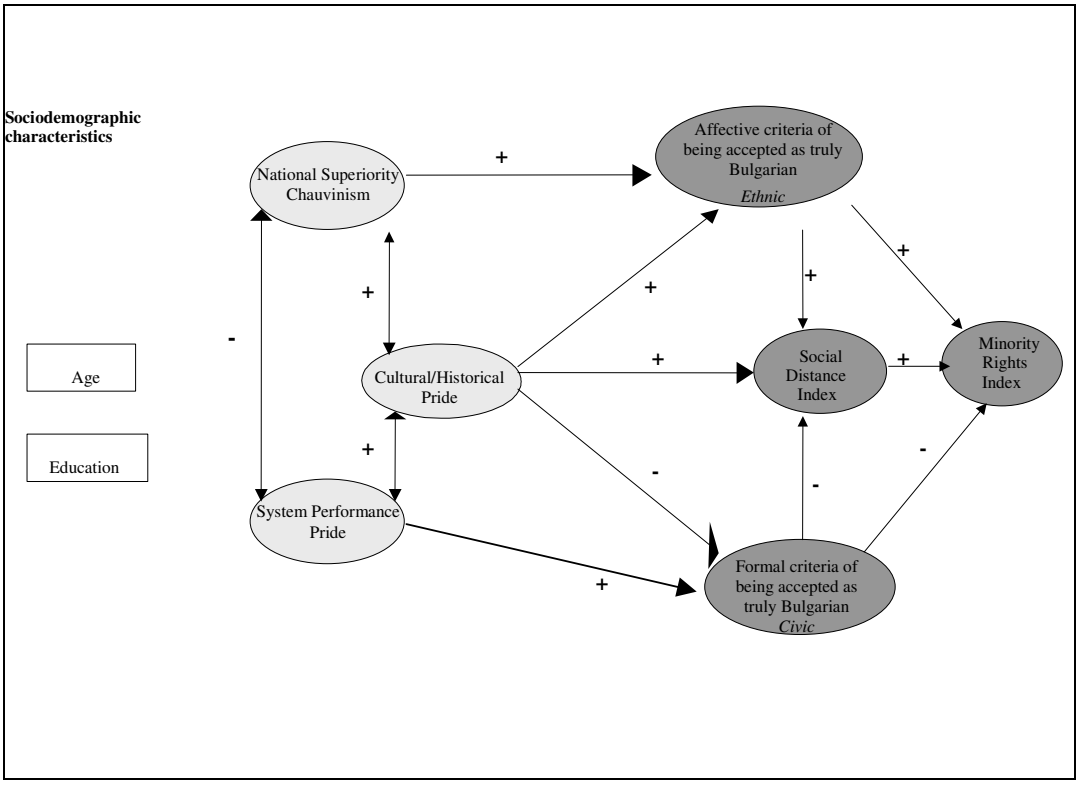

Figure 1: Conceptual model and hypothesized relationships between in-group evaluation and out-group derogation

Measures

In-group evaluation: national identification (exogenous variables)

Following Adorno et al. (1950) and Staub (1997) *patriotic pride* (constructive patriotism) exists when the individual's attachment to national values is based on a critical understanding, i.e. critical loyalty to the political system and its institutions. This may be seen as equivalent to *pride in the system's performance,* which in the ISSP survey is measured by means of three items (Figure 1). The indicators cover pride in the way Bulgarian democracy functions, pride in Bulgaria's economic achievements, and pride in its social security system. An analysis of the semantic meaning of these items allows us to refer to them as measures for the *patriotic* form of national identification.

Yet, it is questionable whether the indicators used in the ISSP survey measure in fact Staub's (1997) *constructive patriotism* or whether they merely represent a recent evaluation of the Bulgarian economic and political system without any genuine relevance for the acceptance or rejection of the democratic system as such and its implicit humanistic values and norms. To answer this question, the relational modes between patriotic and nationalistic pride on the one hand and between patriotic pride and chauvinistic sentiments on the other are analyzed. An idealization of one's own nation, of its national history and culture, and feelings of national superiority are intrinsic to the concepts of *nationalism* and *chauvinism*. In the specified model (Figure 1), *nationalistic*

sentiments comprise of two sub-dimensions: *cultural pride,* which is measured by items that cover pride in scientific achievements, sports, culture and literature and *pride in national history,* measured through just one item, namely pride in Bulgaria's history. The concept of *chauvinism* is measured by means of two indicators, which represent feelings of national superiority.[10]

Out-group derogation: ethnic exclusion and border maintenance (endogenous variables)

The essence of the nation is a matter of an individual's self-awareness as a group member. According to Alter (1985: 15-17), *nation* constitutes *nationalism* in the way that *nation* serves as a fundamental value, as a source and a building block of a large-scale solidarity. This 'specific solidarity' (Weber 1968) is based on certain characteristics corresponding to language, culture, customs and religion, increased historical awareness, political aims and communication. Many scholars have consistently used the terms *civic (voluntaristic)* and *ethnic (cultural)* in analyzing nation and nationalism. According to Gellner (1983: 7) both definitions, as expressions of different principles (the *law of the soil* versus the *law of the blood*), incorporate elements that are important for understanding nationalism, but neither is sufficient.

In the ISSP study, respondents were asked to evaluate how important various criteria for being 'truly' Bulgarian are (Figure 1).[11] *Ethnic exclusion* is operationalized as the individual's inclination to imagine oneself as a part of a national or ethnic community and identify members of the in and out-group along criteria of descent, race, or cultural affiliation. In this paper, the concept *ethnic exclusion* is considered as a multidimensional concept that describes different forms or levels of intolerance toward national minorities and therefore encompasses four sub-dimensions: 1) formal (*civic*) criteria for group membership; 2) affective (*ethnic, cultural*) criteria for defining group boundaries, 3) *social distance* as an expression of intolerance and 4) denial of minority rights.

In the present analysis, the concept of 'social distance' corresponds to the third level of *ethnic exclusion*. *Social distance* refers to '*[…] the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize personal and social relations generally*' (Park 1924: 343). For the following analysis, an additive social distance index (intolerance index) has been computed by combining answers to the items shown in Table 1[12].

Compared to the first two dimensions of *ethnic exclusion*, the social distance index implies a more vigorous way of minority exclusion since it alludes to people's instinctive drive to maintain social distance to individuals or groups that are imagined as external or different to their own group.

[10] For detailed information about the indicators of the exogenous variables, see Table 2.
[11] For detailed information about the indicators for the endogenous variables, see Table 3.
[12] The social distance index vary from 1=very tolerant to 4=very intolerant.

Table 1: Measuring Social Distance

1. Members of which ethnic groups would you prefer to have as neighbours?
2. Members of which ethnic groups would you prefer to have as workmates?

Bulgarian
Turks
Roma
Jews
Others
With all, no preferences

Don't know
NA

Tolerance

3. Members from which ethnic groups do you object to live and work with?
Bulgarian
Turks
Roma
Jews
Others
There are no such groups

Don't know
NA

Intolerance

Denial of minority rights implies the strongest expression of intolerance towards minority groups in a society (e.g. in the ISSP survey: denial of citizenship, exclusion from the political system, exclusion from the public sphere and from cultural institutions). The individual disposition to discriminate along these lines is the one that is very often objectified within nationalistic political discourses aiming at assimilation of minorities. In contrast, recognizing the minority status of such entities and granting them large-scale rights limits potential destabilizing effects (e.g. state failure to deliver equal treatment to its ethnic minorities invites counter-elites to encourage the request of a breakaway state).

Hypothesized Relationships

Following the aforementioned theoretical considerations, some empirically testable hypotheses were derived which also consider the directional relationships on the structural level (i.e. between the exogenous and endogenous latent variables).

Since configural invariance is a precondition for between-group comparisons, the first hypothesis **(H1)** refers to the configural invariance of the model across time (the same number of latent and measured variables for both points in time). It is hypothesized that in 1995 as well as in 2003 four exogenous factors would emerge for: *system performance pride* (constructive patriotism), *cultural* and *historical* pride (nationalism), and *chauvinism*; further two endogenous factors that represent *formal* (civic) and *affective* (ethnic/cultural) criteria for group membership. Given that the *social*

distance index and the *minority rights index* have been computed as additive indices, no explicit measurement hypotheses for them have been deduced (both indices are considered here as one factor-models[13]). The same is valid for the two socio-demographic characteristics (education and age) which are used in order to obtain statistical control for sample heterogeneity.

As *system performance pride* implies a support of democratic principles and a constructive-critical distance in view of the nation, it is expected that *system performance pride* will correlate negatively with *chauvinism*, while positively with *cultural* and *historic pride* **(H2, H3)**. The positive correlation between *system performance pride, pride in cultural achievements,* and *pride in Bulgaria's history* is derived from the consideration that both *patriotic* and *nationalistic pride* are regarded as affirming attitudes towards the nation, i.e. both concepts imply a positive national identification. Furthermore, it is expected that these specific modes of national identification will have differential effects on the four dimensions of ethnic exclusion: a) it is assumed that pride in the performance of Bulgaria's economic-, social- and democratic system (patriotic pride) will be positively correlated with *formal* criteria of group membership, while negatively with all other dimensions of ethnic exclusion **(H4)**; b) on the contrary, aspects of nationalism and chauvinism are supposed to correlate positively with all levels (dimensions) of ethnic exclusion **(H5)**. Although it is hypothesized that *formal* and *affective* criteria for being 'truly' Bulgarian are positively interrelated **(H6)**, we expect that only the latter would significantly have an effect on the other two dimensions of *ethnic exclusion*, namely the social distance- and the minority rights indices **(H7)**. The last hypothesis concerns the stability of the structural model over time. Taking into account the transitory processes in contemporary Bulgaria and the period of eight years between the two surveys, we assume that the explanatory power of the model will weaken from 1995 to 2003 but taken as a whole the model is expected to be stable over time **(H8)**.

Method and strategy of analysis

The applicability of the deduced hypotheses to different groups (here points in time) is tested by applying Multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis (MGCFA) with LISREL8.54 (Jöreskog and Sörbom 1996).[14] Furthermore, the analysis aims at proving the formal validity and reliability (measurement invariance) of the specific indicators over time.[15]

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[13] One-factor models represent latent variables, which are measured by means of only one indicator. For computational reasons the loading of the indicator is set to 1, i.e. the indicator and the latent variable are equal.

[14] Referring to the observed variables as measured on an interval scale, the Robust Maximum Likelihood estimation method (RML) based on covariance matrices is implemented. Due to the non-normal distribution of the observed variables, asymptotic covariance matrices are used as weighting matrices in addition (Reinecke 2005). The empirical covariance and asymptotic matrices that deliver the input for the models were calculated in PRELIS (Jöreskog and Sörbom 1996) using listwise deletion of missing values.

[15] The goodness of a given model is evaluated using descriptive measures of model fit such as the χ^2-*statistic*, *the goodness of fit index* (GFI), *adjusted goodness of fit index* (AGFI) and measures for statistical inference such as the *p-value for exact fit*, the *root mean square error of approximation* (RMSEA) and the *p-*

Analyses are conducted in three stages:

a) descriptive analyses for the exogenous and endogenous indicators for both samples (mean values, standard deviation, t-test), followed by a discussion of results (Table 2 and 3);

b) since baseline models are expected to be identical across groups (time points), a prior knowledge of group differences is important for the process of invariance testing - thus, the baseline measurement and structural models[16] are calculated separately for each sample (1995 and 2003, Figure 2 and 3), and

c) multiple group comparisons (analysis over time): the structural models for both points in time are analysed simultaneously. Furthermore, tests for full and partial measurement invariance across time are conducted as shown in Table 6 in the appendix,[17] followed by sensitivity analysis, considering statistical power by freeing fixed parameters.

Results

Descriptive Analysis: National identification (in-group evaluation)

As already mentioned, national pride can be derived from different sources: from Bulgaria's economic, social, political, or cultural achievements and from Bulgarian history, i.e. it can consist of nationalistic and patriotic sentiments. Examining the mean values for the indicators that measure pride in specific achievements one can see that except for *system performance pride* the parameters are quite stable over time (see Table 2). In general, Bulgarians are mostly proud of the country's history and of its achievements in sports. This is followed by high pride in arts, literature and in the country's scientific and technical achievements.

The comparatively high pride in the country's history arises from the myths about the 'golden age' of the Bulgarian state, which have been cultivated by historians, teachers, politicians, and writers. Even in contemporary Bulgaria, myths about Bulgaria's 'glorious past' represent the dominant historical narrative.

For many former communist countries, it was of great importance to succeed in international sport competitions as a way of showing their superiority over the western system. Given this and the fact that nowadays for many Bulgarians little is left to be proud of, the high mean values on this indicator for both years are not surprising. It appears that greater pride is drawn from non-political areas of life like history, sports, arts, and literature than from the current performance of the political, economic, and social system. In addition, pride in the system's performance seems to be less stable over time: there is a considerable decrease in the mean values of the corresponding indicators

value for close fit. Values that can be regarded as indications for a good model fit are: *RMSEA*- values below 0.05, *GFI* and *AGFI*- values above 0.95, *p-value of exact fit* values >0.05, for *p-value of close fit*- values >0.5.

[16] The baseline structural model equals the conceptual model in Figure 1.

[17] The table is based on Steinmetz and Schmidt (2004), who also differentiate between full and partial measurement invariance.

from 1995 to 2003 (Table 2).[18] This fluctuation in the respondents' patriotic pride clearly shows that the evaluation of this dimension is very much relevant to the present day. Objective economic conditions and low standards of living, experienced deprivation and widely spread corruption within the political elite might play a significant role for respondents' assessment of Bulgaria's post-communist development.

Table 2: Item wording and descriptive parameters for exogenous (independent) variables

Latent Concept Question Wording	Label	Year	N	Mean	SD	Sig. of mean diff. (α)
System Performance Pride[1] ***(Patriotism)***						
The way democracy works:	**a6arr**	**1995**	**925**	**2,38**	**1,39**	
	a5arr	2003	917	1,73	,96	0,0001
Bulgaria's economic achievements:	**a6crr**	**1995**	**924**	**2,33**	**1,27**	
	a5crr	2003	916	1,61	,88	0,0001
Bulgaria's social security system:	**a6drr**	**1995**	**923**	**1,97**	**1,18**	
	a5drr	2003	913	1,63	,90	0,0001
Cultural Pride[1] ***(Nationalism)***						
Bulgarias' scientific and technical achievements:	**a6err**	**1995**	**921**	**3,20**	**1,25**	
	a5err	2003	911	3,05	1,27	0,01
Bulgarias' achievements in sport:	**a6frr**	**1995**	**925**	**4,35**	**,98**	
	a5frr	2003	912	4,22	,96	0,01
Bulgarias' achievements in arts and literature:	**a6grr**	**1995**	**923**	**4,00**	**1,04**	
	a5grr	2003	910	3,82	1,12	0,001
Pride of Country's History[1] ***(Nationalism)***						
Bulgaria's history:	**a6irr**	**1995**	**924**	**4,38**	**,97**	
	a5irr	2003	918	4,43	,91	n.s.
National Superiority[2] ***(Chauvinism)***						
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the Bulgarians	**a5cr**	**1995**	**923**	**2,99**	**1,24**	
	a4cr	2003	915	2,90	1,12	n.s.
Generally speaking Bulgaria is a better country than most others	**a5dr**	**1995**	**926**	**3,36**	**1,26**	
	a4dr	2003	919	3,13	1,24	0,001

[1]Question wording: How proud are you of [Country] in each of the following?
Answer categories: (1=not proud at all; 3=can't choose; 5=very proud)[19]
[2]Question Wording: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?
Answer categories: (1=disagree strongly; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 5=agree strongly)

[18] Yet, it has to be verified that the significant differences of the items' mean values are due to changes over time, i.e. structural equation modeling allow us to test for the measurement invariance over time (see chapter structural equation modeling).

[19] The original response categories were distributed along a 4-point scale (from *1=very proud* to *4=not proud at all* and *5=can't choose*). The variables were recoded into 5-point scales with the category *3=can't choose* put in the middle. The aim of this transformation was the reduction of missing values (for similar solution with ISSP data see also (Domm 2001)).

Moreover, in 1995 as well as in 2003 Bulgarians show relatively high levels of chauvinistic tendencies, although such emphatic feelings of national superiority do not correspond to the country's current economic and political status (with reference to World Bank and EU monitoring reports). As for *pride in Bulgaria's history* and *chauvinism* there was no significant mean difference between 1995 and 2003 - a result, which is indicative for the relative stability of those attitudes over time.

If we accept for the moment that *patriotism* and *nationalism* represent a dichotomy and in view of the analysis until now, we can conclude that *nationalistic pride* and *chauvinistic sentiments* are intrinsic for the national identification of the Bulgarians. Of particular interest will be the question how these different dimensions of nationness are related to each other. Although one might expect that *chauvinism* primarily implies cultural and historical rudiments, my further analyses contradict this assumption (see structural equation modelling and discussion of results).

Descriptive Analysis: Ethnic Exclusion (Out-Group Derogation and Border Maintenance)

The mean values and standard deviations of the indicators that measure *formal (civic)* and *affective* (*ethnic/cultural*) criteria for defining group membership are presented in Table 3. Although the t-tests show that most of the mean values are significantly different, quite stable distributions of the specific attitudes over time can be traced. Whereas the mean scores of the minority-rights-scale and the social-distance-index (intolerance scale) decrease slightly from 1995 to 2003, the values for the *affective* criteria in defining group borders seem to become gradually stronger over time. Nearly all mean values of the items that measure *formal* and *affective* criteria of group membership are above three (*1=not important at all; 5=very important*). This result indicates that over time the respondents increasingly perceive both *formal* and *affective* criteria as vital for defining who is 'truly' Bulgarian. Yet, of particular interest are the comparatively high scores on the *affective (ethnic/cultural)* criteria in evaluating Bulgarianness. Language and ancestry show the strongest values in 2003 and are on the upper level in 1995 (Table 3). Once more, this result points to the subjective importance of those issues that denote *'[…] something to which one is naturally tied'* (Anderson 1991: 143), i.e. it points to the significance of 'natural' and not 'chosen' group borders.

The mean values of the social distance index indicate the hierarchy in respondents' perception of minority groups. In other words, the individual's general disposition to select between minorities becomes visible: some groups are more likely to be accepted as neighbours or workmates and some are totally denied. In contemporary Bulgaria, the Roma are the most vulnerable group for such kind of hierarchical exclusion.[20] Although in both years the mean values of the social distance scale are scattered around the medium category, we can identify a significant decrease in mean scores between 1995 and 2003.

[20] See "The Situation of Roma In an Enlarged European Union" (EC 2004).

Table 3: Item wording and descriptive parameters for the (endogenous) dependent variables

Latent Concept **Question Wording**	**Label**	**Year**	**N**	**Mean**	**SD**	**Sig. of mean diff. (α)**
Formal Criteria of being accepted as truly Bulgarian[1] ***(Civic)***						
To have been born in Bulgaria	**a4ar**	**1995**	**908**	**3,44**	**0,03**	
	a3ar	2003	911	3,45	0,02	
						0,0001
To have Bulgarian citizenship	**a4br**	**1995**	**907**	**3,41**	**0,03**	
	a3br	2003	906	3,39	0,02	
						0,0001
Affective Criteria of being accepted as truly Bulgarian[1] ***(Ethnic)***						
To have Bulgarian ancestry for more than one generation	**a4cr**	**1995**	**898**	**3,33**	**0,03**	
	a3cr	2003	905	3,49	0,02	
						0,0001
To be able to speak Bulgarian	**a4dr**	**1995**	**905**	**3,53**	**0,02**	
	a3dr	2003	914	3,61	0,02	
						0,0001
To be a Christian	**a4er**	**1995**	**877**	**3,18**	**0,03**	
	a3er	2003	896	3,18	0,03	
						n.s.
Social Distance Index ***(Tolerance towards minorities)*** (1=very tolerant; 2=selective tolerant; 3=selective intolerant; 4=very intolerant)						
	toleranc	**1995**	**860**	**2,68**	**0,03**	
	toleranc	2003	902	2,48	0,04	
						0,0001
Minority Rights Index **(Permission of Minority Rights)**[2] (1=permit all rights; 2=permit no rights) The additive index includes 13 categories between 1 to 2						
	mrighsca	**1995**	**849**	**1,62**	**0,01**	
	mrighsca	2003	842	1,44	0,01	
						0,0001

[1]**Question wording:** Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Bulgarian. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is…?
Answer categories: (1=not important at all; 4=very important)
[2]**Question wording:** Regarding minority rights, there exist different opinions. What do you think about the following: Bulgarian minorities should be granted with the following rights: 1) to establish own associations and organizations for fostering their culture; 2) to publish (books and journals) in their own language; 3) to have newspapers and broadcasting in their own language; 4) to attend school classes in their own language; 5) to have representatives in the local and governmental institutions; 6) to have their political parties and unions.
Answer categories: (1=yes; 2=no)

The findings for the *minority rights index* are similar to those of the *social distance scale*. While in 1995, the overall mean value of the minority rights index points at a relatively strong general tendency to discriminate, in 2003 a change in the opposite direction is identifiable. The mean value decreases under the threshold value of 1.5 (due to the nominal scale of the original variables, the additive index represents an interval scale between the values 1 and 2), so we can see that Bulgarians become gradually more tolerant towards national minorities. In order to understand the above-mentioned change in the individual attitudes as regards minority rights across time, we have to briefly examine the descriptive distribution of the original variables. The scope of the minority-rights-scale ranges from cultural (e.g. the right to establish their own associations and organizations for fostering the minorities' cultures, the right to publish books and journals in their own language, the right to have newspapers and broadcasting in their own language and the right to attend education in their own language) to political (e.g. the right to representatives in local and governmental institutions, the right to own political parties and unions). While the overall trend is a positive one, (i.e. Bulgarians become more inclined to permit a broad range of minority rights), a closer look at the different aspects shows a clearly exclusive pattern. Political rights (as regards the right to own parties and unions) are denied in both years (1995: 56 per cent are against compared to 53 per cent in 2003). Another result that is stable over time is the denial of the right to attend education in minorities' mother tongue and the rejection of the right for minorities to have their own media and broadcasting. The majority of the respondents in both years refuse these rights.

As already mentioned, language seems to be one of the key criteria for one to be accepted as 'truly' Bulgarian and the provision of curricula in the minorities' own language one of the most sensitive areas in the spectrum of minority rights. This finding points at the role of the Bulgarian language for exclusionary practices. Scholars (Jones and Smith 2001, Rosegger and Haller 2003) identified language as primarily functional, as a facilitator of civic virtue but not as an ethnic marker. Thus, a possible point of departure for the further analysis using structural equation modeling will be whether Bulgarians consider the 'Bulgarian tongue' as the essence of their social identity and if the Bulgarian language is understood as the link to the past, i.e. to ancestors and historical places.

Selected Results from the Latent Variable Analysis

The initial analysis examined the first order confirmatory factor models (CFA) that were specified to test the multidimensionality of the concepts *national identity* and *ethnic exclusion* across time. In particular, the hypothesis that the baseline model has the same factorial structure for each year (i.e. configural invariance) was tested. In line with the theoretical considerations, it was hypothesized that *national pride* consists of at least three latent sub-dimensions which include *system performance pride* (*patriotic pride*), *cultural pride,* and *pride in country's history*. It is also assumed that one latent variable for *national superiority* (*chauvinism*) and two latent dimensions that represent different criteria of group membership (as the first two level of ethnic exclusion) will emerge. As

regards the configural invariance of the model over time (H1), we can conclude that the theoretically postulated model can be confirmed for both years and that the indicators used to measure the latent variables yield significant and valid parameters.

Yet, the initial first-order-factor models did not provide an acceptable model fit for both years. A secondary loading (i.e. cross loading) from the factor '*system performance pride*' to the first indicator of *cultural pride* ('proud in Bulgarians scientific and technological achievements') has to be freed for both points in time (see Figure 2 and 3, and Figure 4 in the appendix). A possible explanation for this modification is that *pride in scientific and technological achievements* has very much to do with the perceived development of the current economic and political system. To fit the baseline models for both time points some error variances were allowed to covary. The modified factor models revealed an acceptable fit for each year and thus provided the baseline models for the following group comparisons and the invariance testing. In both years, the coefficients for the factor loadings (within group completely standardized solution) range between 0.50 and 0.88, which signifies that the relations between the theoretical concepts and their indicators are sufficient, i.e. the formal validity of the items is established (see Figure 2 and 3). As an indication for the formal reliability of the indicators one can use the squared multiple correlations for the observed variables that range between 0.30 and 0.80 and which can be interpreted as the percent of explained variance in the item by the latent variable.

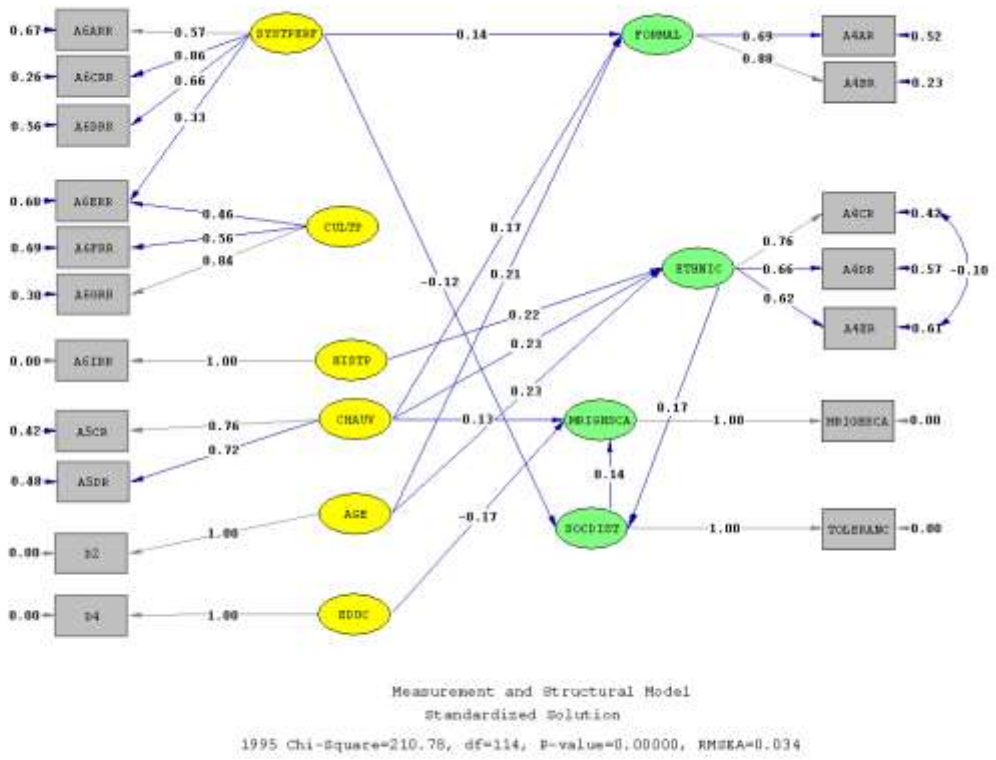

Figure 2: Measurement- and structural model for 1995

From the separate analysis of the measurement models for both points in time, we can conclude that all concepts were measured validly albeit not always distinctly (see cross-loadings for system performance pride).

Next, the structural model was estimated for each sub-sample separately. The empirical results for the directional relationships between the latent variables are presented in Figure 2 and 3; the correlations between the exogenous latent variables are obtainable from Figure 4 in the appendix.[21] Regarding the relations on the structural level, the findings show that almost all hypotheses can be confirmed. As postulated in the third hypothesis (H3), system performance pride is positively related with cultural and historical pride for both years (see Figure 4 in the appendix). Nevertheless, the second hypothesis has to be rejected (H2): pride in Bulgaria's current political, economic, and social system does not correlate negatively but positively with notions of superiority.[22] While pride in national history shows a positive correlation with chauvinism, pride in cultural achievements is not significantly correlated with chauvinistic tendencies. This is true for both points in time.

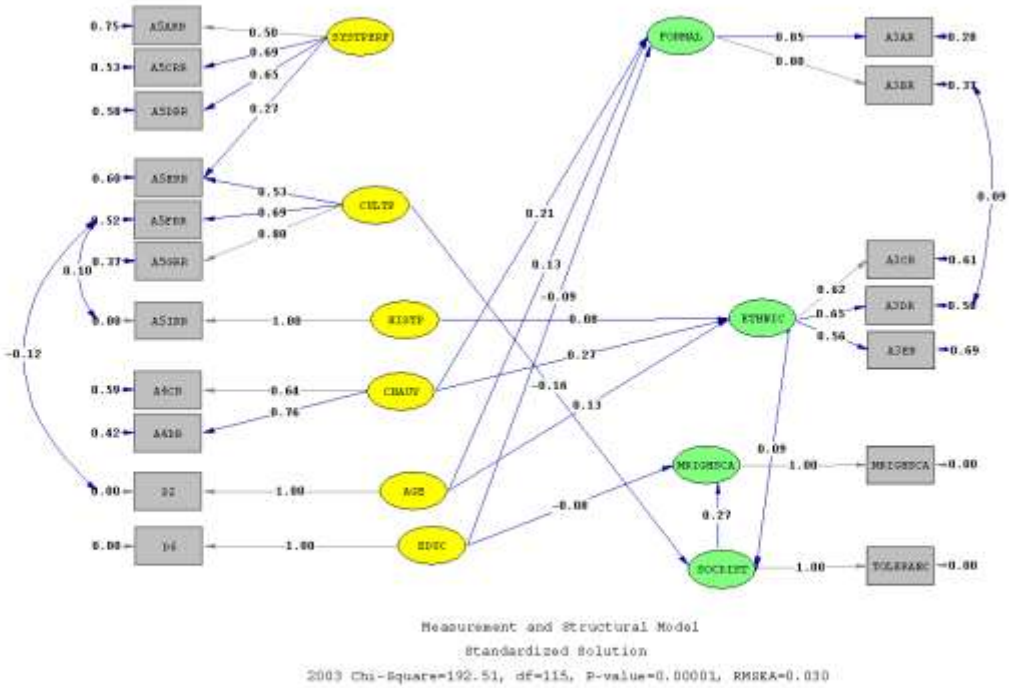

Figure 3: Measurement- and structural model for 2003

21 For the relative difference in the size of the effects between the years, see the following simultaneous multi-group comparison.

22 For detailed elaboration on this result, see the concluding discussion of results.

Moreover, in both samples, chauvinistic attitudes enforce the importance of *formal* and *affective* criteria for group membership. The more respondents are inclined to think that Bulgaria is better than any other country, the more they are disposed to exclude *others* along *formal* and *ethnic criteria* for group membership (H5). While in 1995 chauvinistic attitudes have a significant direct effect on the willingness to grant minority rights, this direct effect disappears for 2003 (H8). Another important finding refers to the effect of the historical dimension of subjective nationalism: the stronger individuals' pride in Bulgaria's history, the more they are inclined to define group membership along ethnic and cultural criteria (H5). This result is worth underlying, since in many other analyses pride in country's history is regarded as indicator for cultural pride. The explicit separation of the latter helps to differentiate the specific effects on *ethnic exclusion*. While the analysis yields almost no significant effect of cultural pride on any dimensions of ethnic exclusion[23], pride in Bulgaria's history is positively correlated with three sub-dimensions of the *ethnic exclusion* (pride in history has a direct effect on ethnic criteria for group membership and indirect effects on both the social distance index and on the minority rights index) (H5).

The models in Figure 2 and 3 show that for both points in time, two dimensions of *criteria for group membership* derive (the so called *formal* and *affective)*. Moreover, the empirical results show that while these two dimensions correlate positively and to a high degree in both sub-samples (H6), they can be plausibly differentiated. The results reveal that fluency in Bulgarian is not viewed only as a facilitator of civic virtue but also as an essential ethnic marker. Although in both years a modification of the model was needed (relaxation for error covariance between the language item and an item for *formal* criteria), which shows that this item has also something in common with the *formal* criteria for group membership, this indicator clusters together with other ethnic criteria, e.g. with 'to be a Christian' or 'to have Bulgarian ancestry for more than one generation'. This results also points at the fuzzy border between these two concepts. Even if the *affective* and the *formal* criteria for being 'truly' Bulgarian are strongly interrelated and both correlate positively with chauvinism, their effect on the social distance scale and on the minority rights index are different. Whereas *formal* criteria show no significant effect on exclusion of national minorities, *affective* criteria empower discrimination and intolerance (H7).

In addition, we find no significant direct effect of *pride in system's performance* on any of the latent dimensions in the model for the sub-sample in 2003 (Figure 3). On the contrary, we find a significant negative effect from *system pride* on *social distance* and a positive one on *formal criteria for group membership* in 1995 (Figure 2). This result supports our substantial considerations about the differential effects of patriotic and nationalistic pride on the derogation of out-groups.

23 For the sample in 2003, we find a significant negative effect of *cultural pride* on the *social distance index* which further implies that the more one is proud in Bulgaria's scientific and cultural achievements, the more she/he is inclined to tolerate minorities.

Regarding the effects of the control variables age and education, we can summarize that age shows a significant positive direct effect on both dimensions of *criteria for group membership* and a positive correlation with chauvinistic attitudes (e.g. older respondents are more inclined to believe that the world would be a better place if all people were like Bulgarians and thus they are more inclined to exclude along ethnic lines). Moreover, education has a negative direct effect on the permission of minority rights: the higher the education level of the respondents, the less they are inclined to deny minority rights. These results are valid for both points in time.

In line with the theoretical assumptions of *Social Identity Theory* and of *Theory of Ethnocentrism*, we can summarize that *national identifications* are indeed relevant for the exclusion of minorities but only when they consists of pride in a country's history and chauvinistic sentiments. Table 4 shows the explained variance of the endogenous variables. In both sub-samples, the concept of affective criteria for group membership reveals the highest explained variance, followed by the concept of formal criteria for group membership. While the explained variance in all other concepts changes slightly between the years, it decreases in the first two dimensions of *ethnic exclusion* (formal and affective criteria). These results show that while the relational patterns between the latent variables stay significant over time, the explanatory power of the model as a whole decreases (H8).

Table 4: Percentage of explained variance in the endogenous variables over time

	1995	**2003**
Formal criteria of the nation	14.1%	9.8%
Ethnic criteria of the nation	20.3%	11.9%
Social Distance (Intolerance) Index	3.8%	3.4%
Minority Rights Index	8.0%	8.2%

Simultaneous Multi-Group Comparison

In a next step, analyses of measurement invariance across both time points were conducted according to the sequence of tests as shown in Table 5. We begin with a test for configural invariance in both years (one factor loading per latent variable is fixed to 1[24]), where no further restrictions are done.

Table 5: Tests for Measurement Invariance Across Time (1995 & 2003)

Model	Model Description	Compared Model	χ^2 (df)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (Δdf)	RMSEA
1.	Full Metric Invariance		751.10 (279)		0.048
2.	All Error Variances free	1	607.07 (266)	-144.03 (13)**	0.041
3.	Partial Invariance of Error Variances[a]	2	614.55 (273)	+ 7.48 (7)	0.041
4.	All Factor Variances free	3	405.26 (263)	- 209.92 (10)**	0.027

24 Due to identification problems, LISREL fixes the variance of the latent variable usually to 1 per default. The other possibility is to fix one factor loading to 1 in order to free the variance of the latent variable.

Model	Model Description	Compared Model	χ^2 (df)	$\Delta\chi^2$ (Δdf)	RMSEA
5.	Partial Invariance of Factor Variances[b]	4	403.02 (267)	- 1.34 (4)	0.026
6.	All Factor Covariances free	5	361.96 (257)	- 41.96 (10)**	0.023
7.	Partial Invariance of Factor Covariances[c]	6	363.86 (261)	+ 1.9 (4)	0.023
8.	All Beta and Gamma free	7	337.62 (253)	- 26.24 (8)*	0.021
9.	Partial Invariance of Beta and Gamma[d]	8	339.91 (257)	+ 2.29 (4)	0.021
10	All Factor Loadings free	9	326.52 (248)	-13.39 (9)	0.021
11	Partial Invariance of Factor loadings[e]	9	336.99 (256)	-2.92 (1)	0.021

Note** = p<.001; * = p<.05

[a] Relaxation for: θ_{11} (a6arr), θ_{22} (a6crr), θ_{33} (a6drr) and : ε_{11} (a4ar), ε_{22} (a4br), ε_{44} (a4dr)

[b] Relaxation for Φ_{11} (system performance); Φ_{22} (cultural pride); Φ_{55} (age); Φ_{66} (education) and ψ_{22}(affective); ψ_{44}(mrightsca);

[c] The following factor covariances are invariant: Φ_{23} (cultp & histp) Φ_{43} (histp & chauvinism); Φ_{45} (chauvinsm &age) and ψ_{12}(formal & ethnic);

[d] The following paths are invariant: be 42, ga 14, ga24, ga36

[e] Relaxation for λx 31 (a6drr)

Then, the test for *full metric invariance* was conducted, where the complete model was constrained to be equal across time points (see Table 5). The item (*proud in the current social system*) has different values for 1995 and 2003. It should be noted that all other factor loadings are invariant, i.e. they are equal across time points. This model, compared to the configurally invariant model 1, provides an acceptable fit. Besides sampling fluctuations, model 11 is the model on which the further comparisons between the two time points are made[25]. The aim of this analysis is to prove the invariance of the measurement and structural models over time. Following the proposed strategies in the literature for conducting tests of invariance, we can conclude that the validity of the indicators used to measure national pride, chauvinism and ethnic exclusion is given for both years (with one exception for the variable *pride in the social system*). This implies that the respondents' perception of the meaning of these indicators does not seriously differ between the two samples (time points). Nevertheless, we observe that the factor variances for almost all latent variables are significantly different, which on its own is an indication of sample heterogeneity (see Table 5).[26] Regarding the relative difference in the effects of the latent variables, it should be mentioned that the effect of *pride in Bulgaria's history* is stronger in 1995 than in 2003. Another significant difference between the samples refers to the effect of the *social distance scale* on the *minority rights index*, which seems to be higher in 2003 than in 1995 (see Table 9 in appendix).

25 The tables with the standardized and unstandardised coefficients from the simultaneous analysis are attached in the appendix (Tables 7-9).

26 Even if we find that the signs of the relationships between the latent variables remain the same over time, the interpretaion of these as correlations should be done with caution, given the heterogenious factor variances. Especially for population surveys like ISSP, multigroup confirmatory analyses seems to be very important, as samples are widely acknowledged to be heterogenous.

Summary and Outlook

The analyses in this paper focus on the associations between processes of national identification (*nationness)* and *ethnic exclusion* in Bulgaria at two points in time (1995 and 2003). For both years, the hypothesis of a negative covariance between patriotism (measured in ISSP through *patriotic pride*) and *chauvinism* has to be rejected. The empirical examination shows that the concepts of *patriotism* and *nationalism* (measured as *nationalistic pride*) could be plausibly differentiated for Bulgaria but not in regards to their relationship with *chauvinism*. Both, *nationalistic* and *patriotic sentiments* are positively related to chauvinistic sentiments. A question arises as to whether one can still distinguish between *patriotism* as a less extreme and *nationalism* as a 'blind' and uncritical attachment to the nation. We might conclude so far that for Bulgaria both concepts are positively related to feelings of national superiority. According to theories that deal with chauvinism, *patriotism* implies critical loyalty towards the nation and thus it should not be positively interrelated with any notions of superiority. These findings may challenge the theoretical assumptions about the content of chauvinism as well as the mode of its operationalization.

The findings for Bulgaria allow us to infer that *chauvinism* (viewed as a concept of national superiority) encompasses both short-term and long-term evaluations of nation and state: Chauvinistic attitudes in Bulgaria have their roots in historical myths and images as well as in the subjective evaluations and individual experiences with Bulgaria's current political, economic, and social system. The short-term effect of *pride in system's performance* on *chauvinism* may derive from the socialization process during Communism and from the relatively limited individual experience with political practices in a consolidated democratic system. Most of the respondents have been socialized during Communism which was well known for its offensive campaigns towards the minorities' everyday culture. Throughout the whole communist period, one can trace the elites' efforts to eradicate the minorities' *in-between status* and pose *Bulgarian sameness* on Bulgarian-speaking Pomak and Turkish-speaking Muslim minorities. The so-called *Cultural Revolution* (1958-60) and *Rebirth Process* campaigns (1960-1970 and 1984-1985) were peak political actions during which Pomak and Turko-Arabic names were forcibly replaced by Bulgarian names. Since it was the *'audible marker'* of Turkish difference, the use of Turkish language in public spaces was repeatedly forbidden. The communist leaders constantly tried to obstruct minorities' culture and traditions, i.e. their audible and visible signs of hybridity (Neuburger 2004).

The descriptive analyses and the findings of the structural equation models reveal that the Bulgarian language is still essential for imagining the Bulgarian nation and that it is understood as the link to the past, to ancestors and historical places. The importance of the Bulgarian language for being 'truly' Bulgarian correlates strongly with the importance of Christianity and Bulgarian ancestry for defining group borders. Moreover, the results suggest that the 'Bulgarian tongue' may be interpreted as a key element in the process of ethnic exclusion and discrimination of minorities. We can therefore conclude that contemporary Bulgarians still define group membership along ethnic and

cultural criteria to a great extent: the vision of the nation is mostly related to 'blood', to something one is born with, rather than to agreement or free choice.

As regards the measurement of *constructive patriotism,* the scale used in the ISSP survey underestimates the socialization in a specific political system. The respondents were not asked to evaluate democracy as a common value or a societal norm but merely to assess the current performance of the state. As this result is likely to reveal not only for the Bulgarian samples and since other studies found out that this pattern is almost cross-nationally invariant,[27] I would like to put forward the importance of precise measurements of the discussed theoretical concepts. In order to sharpen the vague difference between chauvinistic, nationalistic and patriotic attachment to the nation, we may look at the construct validity of these concepts, to be exact – to look at the interrelations between aspects of *national identification* and *ethnic exclusion* or *ethnic intolerance*. In line with the theoretical assumptions within the *Social Identity Theory* and the *Theory of Ethnocentrism*, it was expected that, unlike patriotic pride, chauvinism and nationalistic pride would show positive correlation with ethnic exclusion and intolerance toward national minorities. Our findings confirm the hypothesis that in-group evaluation has a significant effect on out-group derogation and that this relationship holds true for a post-communist society in transition as well as over time. It seems that processes of national identification in contemporary Bulgaria are undeniably relevant for exclusion of out-groups, however, only when they refer to pride in country's history or to chauvinistic sentiments. To conclude, even if it was possible to distinguish between patriotic and nationalistic attachments to the nation, between formal and affective criteria of group membership, the distinction between these concepts remains at least blurred. This points to the need of further substantial elaboration of the distinctions between the concepts, their empirical examination in different social contexts and over time, and last but not least the critical evaluation of the applied indicators to measure them.

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27 Coenders (2003) and Coenders & Scheepers (2001) used the 1995 ISSP data for 22 countries and found the same positive covariation between patriotism and chauvinism for almost all countries that they have analyzed. Problematic in their analyses is the theoretical interchangeability of the terms nationalism and patriotism. They seek to argue within the concept of nationalism but employ indicators of patriotism. This could be the reason for not questioning the 'critical' positive correlation between patriotism and chauvinism.

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Appendix

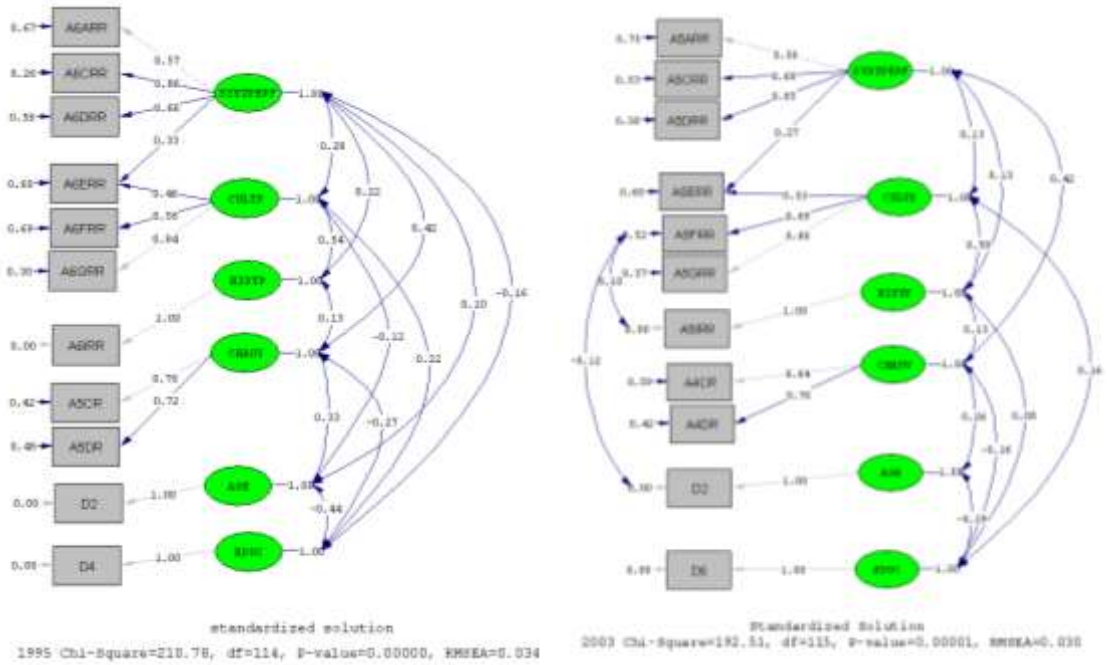

Figure 4: Relationships between exogenous variables (1995 & 2003)

Table 6: Equality Constraints and steps of measurement invariance

Label	Interpretation	Constraints	Meaning
Configural invariance	Same model structure in both groups (in both time points)		
Metric Invariance	Same metric in both groups Implications for construct comparabiliy	$\Lambda_A = \Lambda_B$	Equally constrained matrices of factor loadings
Invariance of factor variances	Same heterogeneity of factor scores in both groups (time points) Prerequisite to interpret equal factor covariances as equal correlations Prerequisite to interpret equal error variances as equal reliabilities	$diag\Phi jj^A = diag\Phi jj^B$	Equally constrained diagonal of the matrix with the factor variances and covariances
Invariance of factor covariances	In case of equal factor variances same correlations between factors Implications for construct comparability	$\Phi jj^A = \Phi jj^B$	Equally constrained sub-diagonal of the matrix with the factor variances and covariances
Invariance of measuremnt error	In case of equal factor variances same reliabilities in both groups	$\theta_A = \theta_B$	Equally constrained matrix with the error variances and covariances

Table 7: Unstandardized solution of the simultaneous multi-group comparison between 1995 and 2003 sub-samples (measurement model for exogenous variables)

Exogenous Latent Variable	**Pride in the system's Performance**		Cultural Pride		**Historical Pride**		**National Superiority**		**Age**	**Education**
Item	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995 2003**	**1995 2003**
Proud in the way democracy works	1.00	1.00								
Proud in Bulgaria's economic achievements	1.34	1.34								
Proud in its social security system	**0.97**	**1.23**								
Proud in its scientific and technical achievements	0.58	0.58	0.72	0.72						
Proud in its achievements in sport			0.66	0.66						
Proud in its achievements in arts and literature			1.00	1.00						
Proud in its history*					1.00	1.00				
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like the Bulgarians							1.00	1.00		
Generally speaking, Bulgaria is a better country than most others							1.11	1.11		
Age*									1.00	
Education*										1.00

Note: Boldface numbers denote significant difference between 1995 and 2003 sub samples. Underlined values denote cross-loadings

*'Proud in history', education and age are represented (measured) only by one indicator, i.e. there is no difference between the indicator and the latent variable (the loadings are respectively fixed to 1.00)

Table 8: Unstandardized solution of the simultaneous multi-group comparison between 1995 and 2003 sub-samples (measurement model for endogenous variables)

Endogenous Latent Variable	**Formal criteria of the nation**		Ethnic criteria of the nation		**Social Distance Index**	**Minority Rights Index**
Item	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995 2003**	**1995 2003**
It is important for being truly Bulgarian to have been born in the country	0.98	0.98				
It is important for being truly Bulgarian to have Bulgarian citizenship	1.00	1.00				
It is important for being truly Bulgarian to be a descendent of more than one generation Bulgarians			1.00	1.00		
It is important for being truly Bulgarian to be able to speak Bulgarian			0.78	0.78		
It is important for being truly Bulgarian to be a Christian			1.09	1.09		
Social Distance Index*					1.00	
Minority Rights Index*						1.00

Note: Boldface numbers denote significant difference between 1995 and 2003 sub samples.
*The Social Distance Index and the Minority Right Index represent additive indexes that were computed prior to the this analysis, i.e. there is no difference between the indicator and the latent variable (the loadings are respectively fixed to 1.00)

Table 9: Unstandardized solution of the simultaneous multi-group comparison between 1995 and 2003 sub-samples (structural model)

	Formal criteria of the nation		Ethnic criteria of the nation		**Social Distance Index**		**Minority Rights Index**	
	1995	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**	**1995**	**2003**
Pride in the System's Performance	**0.10**	*			**-0.14**	*		
Cultural Pride					*	**-0.21**		
Historical Pride			**0.14**	**0.04**				
Chauvinism	0.15	0.15	0.15	0.15			**0.05**	*
Age	**0.01**	*	**0.01**	*				
Education	*	**-0.04**	-0.02	-0.02				
Formal criteria of the nation								
Ethnic criteria of the nation					0.28	0.28		
Social Distance Index							**0.05**	**0.08**

Note: Boldface numbers denote significant difference between 1995 and 2003 sub samples.
* No significant effect for this year (=0)

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